7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI CaucasiaRHI
Georgia RI I

C.
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Caucasus, in and around the cities of Nukha and Shemakha and along the northeastern slopes of the northeastern border mountains of the Anti-Caucasus. These are in the rural districts, mainly Armenian peasants, while numerous Armenians are found in the diaspora of all bigger Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian cities. Some of these cities were founded by Armenians; for instance, Armavir, the important railroad hub in the Northwestern Caucasian area, which bears the name of one of the oldest known Armenian cities. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Armavir Armenians speak Cherkess as their everyday language. The Armenians who had received Christianity from the south, from Syria, before the rule of Constantine the Great, were exposed at various epochs of history to religious and political oppression and persecution, and are like the Jews, one of the oldest nations of refugees and emigres, whose members can be found all over the world. Their more compact diaspora groups live in Russia, Syria, Constantinople, Podolia (westernmost Ukraine), Vienna, Transylvania, Venice, Munich, Paris, and the United States.

C.
[191]

The K'art'velians

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G.
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The central part of the Trans-Caucasian valley and the entire western part of Trans-

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C Mingrelian has never been a literary language;
G in the schools, Georgian is the language
197 of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C c. The Laz live on the seacoast and
G in the valleys of the small rivers falling into
101 the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet
C territory; the large majority live in Turkish
G territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish
[191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a
[192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all
C Western Georgia, having superseded the old
G Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is
[197] in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

2:2 Non-Indigenous Languages (continued)

Kumuk	-1927:	Arabic; 1927-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Kurdish		Occasional publications in Arabic and Latin script
Noghay	-1928:	Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Ossete	-1923:	Russian; 1923- Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian (in North Ossetian ASSR) and Georgian (in South Ossetian AO)
Tat	-1929:	Hebrew; 1929-: Latin; 1937-: Russian

As a result of general compulsory education, the large majority of the speakers of Caucasian languages are literate in the official language of their district. It must be noted, however, that many persons have not kept up with the changes in alphabets and are literate only in the Arabic and/or Latin script.

●191 As to the speakers of non-literary languages, the Ando-Dido peoples and the speakers of Archi and Tsakhur in Dagestan use Avar as a literary language. The Paleocaucasian speakers in the Azerbaidjan SSR use Azeri as a literary language, as do the Talysh. In general, Russian is the lingua franca in the North-Western and Central Caucasus; in Dagestan this role is played in the West by Avar, in the East, north of Derbent by Kumuk, south of Derbent by Azeri.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

ghian mountain peoples. Early ecclesiastical law of Georgia and Armenia attacked next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence, while Islamic law *permitted* the Daghestanians to continue the practice, except, of course, the brother-sister marriages. The Armenian National Council of Ashtishat (A. D. 365) prohibited all marriages in the lateral line up to the third degree of relationship.[76] Later even fourth degree relatives were excluded from mating, while other Church decrees and tradition considered marriages between relatives even up to the seventh degree as incestuous.[77] Islamic law on the contrary, permitted first-cousin marriages.[78] Moreover the local and linguistic isolation of the Lesghian tribes and constant family-feuds favoured endogamy. Today there are about 30 distinct languages in Daghestan and formerly there must have been many more, not to mention the numerous dialects. Some languages are spoken by as few as a thousand people, or as is the case with the Nakhada by only one hundred and thirty-five persons.

Although the Iranian culture area extended beyond North Caucasia, we have no evidence of the existence of the next-of-kin marriages in Northwest and Northcentral Caucasus. What kept the Cherkess and the Abkhaz from falling into line with their Eastern and Southern neighbours, or what has contributed to its early death after endogamy had been introduced, is not easy to say. The greater geographical remoteness from the centres of endogamy (Egypt, Sumeria, Elam, Arabia and Persia are the classical regions for brother-sister marriages), the well-established aristocracy with no danger of extinction, the strong, proud tradition regarding incest, the great respect for their own *adats*, the example of the élite of the Caucasus (the Kabardians), and Christianity seem to have been the main factors involved. We do not know if endogamy has ever existed among the Chechens.

2. The Impediment of Affinity

By an impediment of affinity we understand that degree of propinquity between a husband and a female relative of his wife or between a wife and a male relative of her husband which by law or custom is a bar to marriage. This particular impediment has not yet been sufficiently investigated by the field-workers; however we shall treat of this impediment indirectly when speaking of the levirate, sororate, and widow inheritance.

3. The Impediments of Fictitious Kinships

By fictitious kinship we understand any relationship based on grounds other than consanguinity or affinity. To what extent do such artificial kinships bar two Caucasians from mating? Fieldworkers have indeed investigated the various forms of fictitious kinship, but, unfortunately, not in relation to mating. There is still much to be done in regard to this important impediment.

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[76] Klidschian, "Das armenische Eherecht," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XXV (1911), p. 332 ff.

[77] Zdenko Vinski, "*Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum*," p. 138 (MS).

[78] G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 82.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again.

§ 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88]

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave

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[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Połzdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plötschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.

8: Lŭzbetak

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A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of position of
Sections of end map.

[Facing end map]

8: Lubbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasus RHI

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[End map A]

8: Lużbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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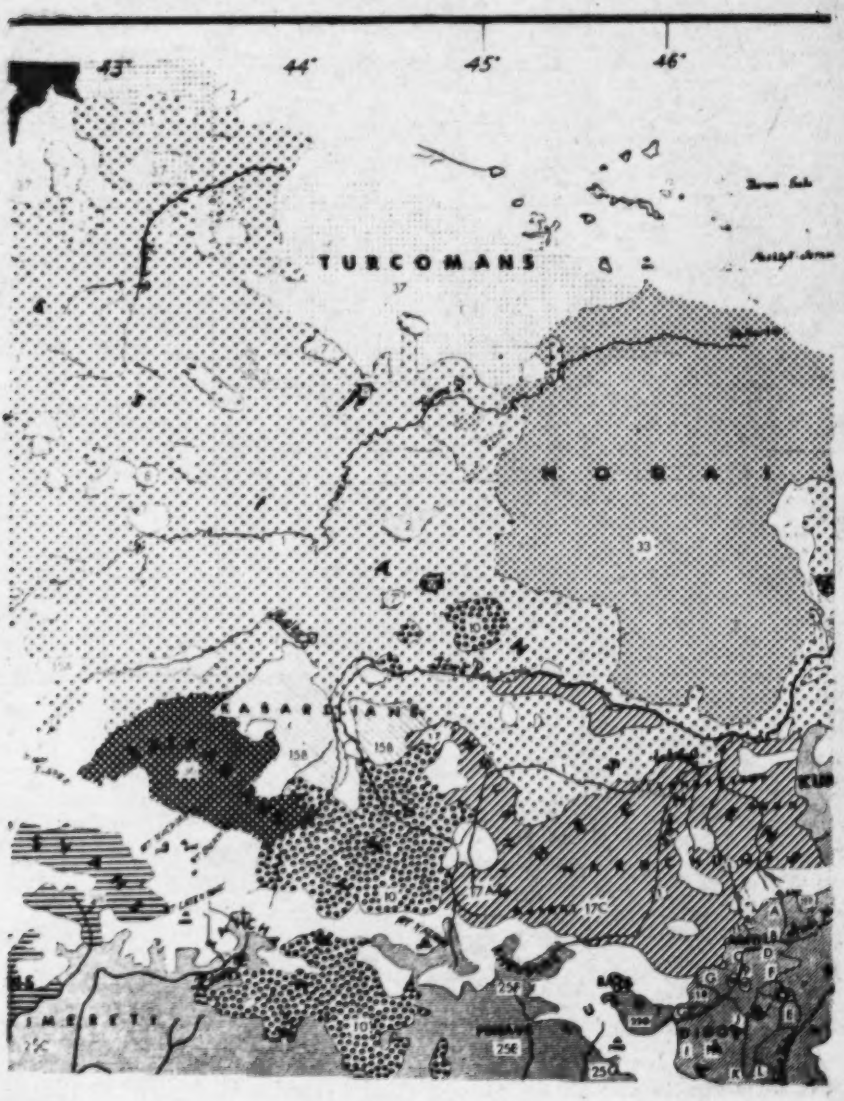

[End map B]

S: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 Caucasia XVII

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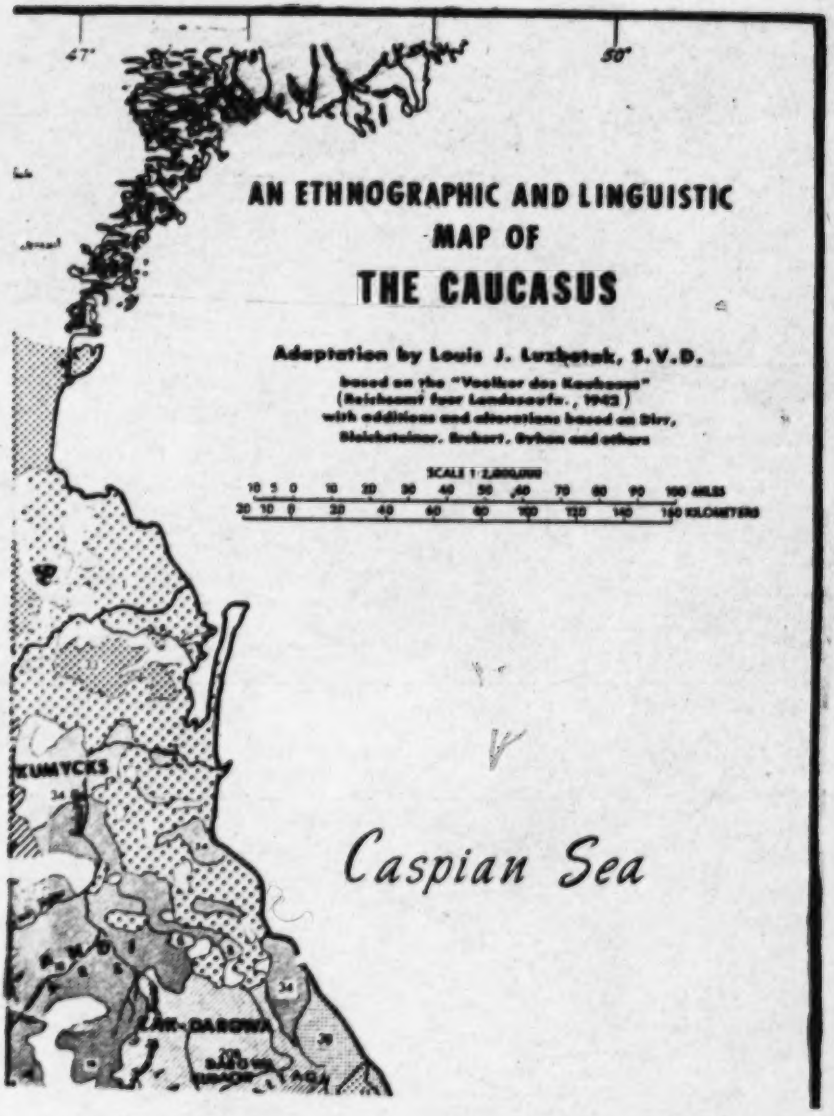
47°
50°
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC
MAP OF
THE CAUCASUS
Adaptation by Louis J. Luzbetak, S.V.D.
based on the "Voelker des Kaukasus"
(Reichsamt fuer Landesaufn., 1942)
with additions and alterations based on Dirr,
Bleichsteiner, Erckert, Dybow and others
SCALE 1:2,800,000
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 MILES
20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 KILOMETERS
KUMYCKS
Caspian Sea
LAK-DARGWA

[End map C]

S: Luzbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

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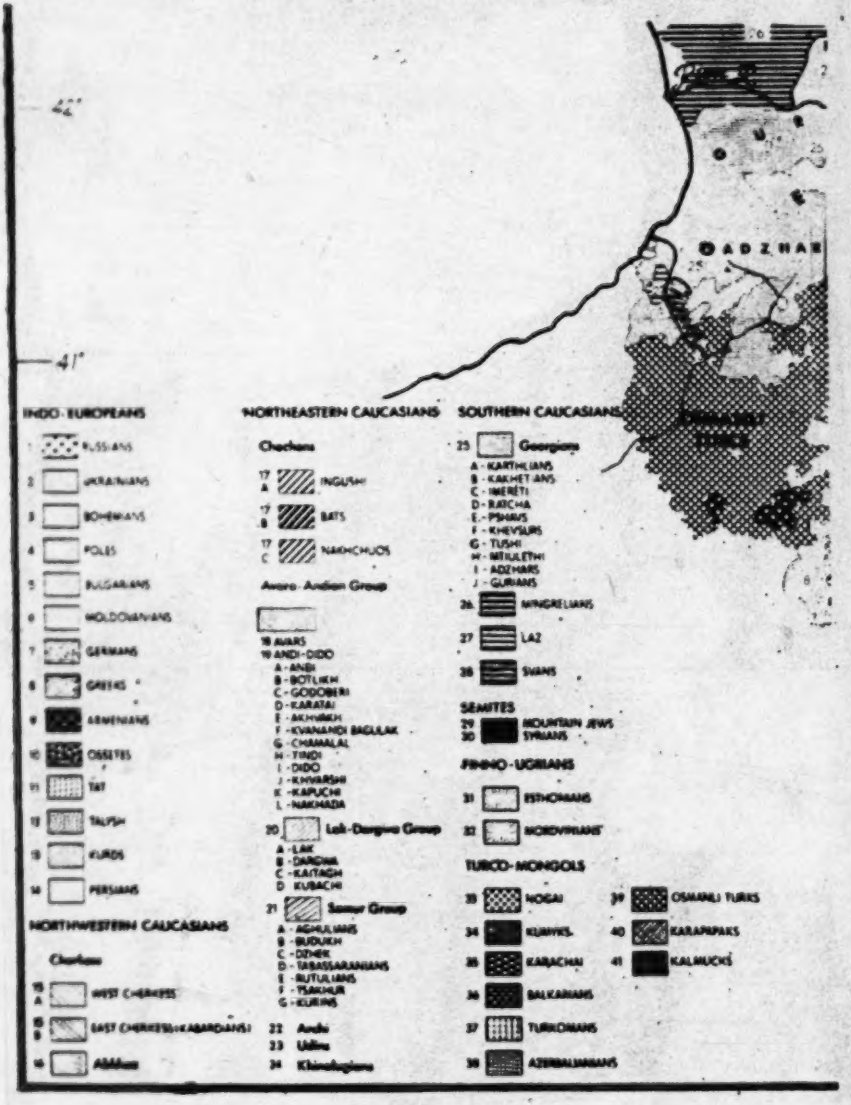

[End map D]

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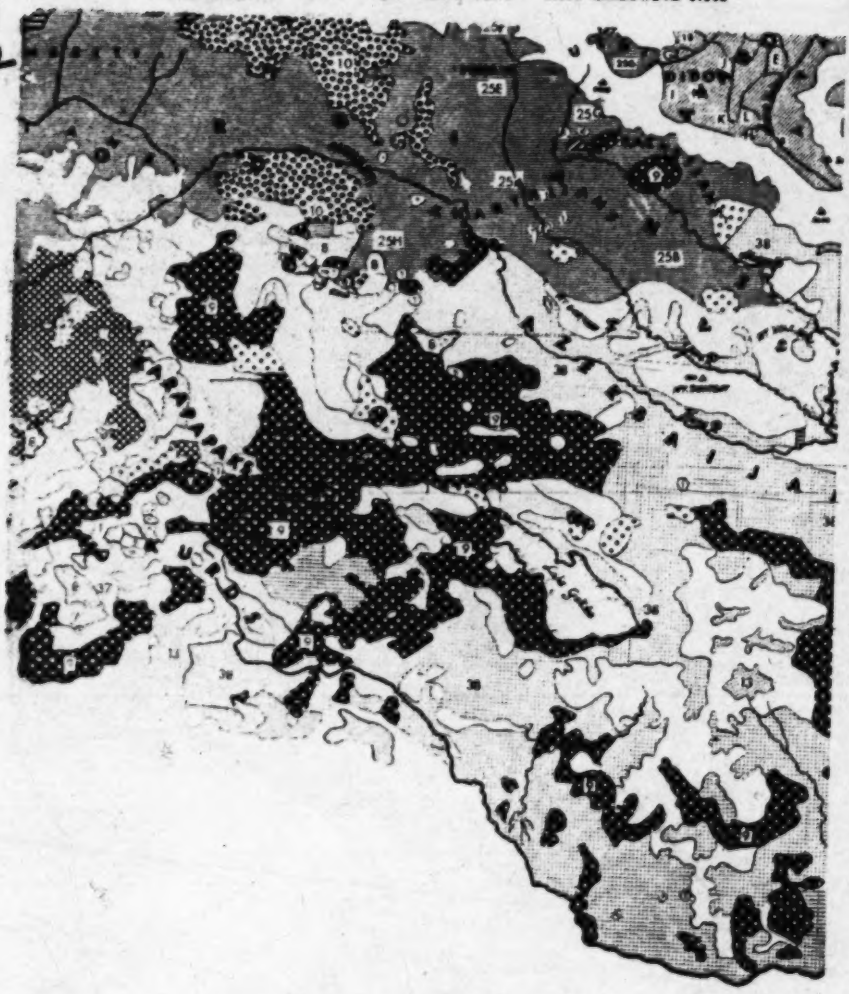
162



[End map E]

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[End map F]

Ca 771 [870] during the summer holidays all that the Soviet authorities wished them to disregard. A number of Ingush party and Communist Youth League members, instead of working against the influence of religion, used themselves to go to the mosques to pray.[7]

Ca 447 191 The difficulties existing between the Soviet authorities and the Chechens and Ingush were not exclusively due to the Bolshevik failure to understand the importance of the religious factor in the life of the mountaineers. There were also extraordinary difficulties of a technical nature, due to the fact that the directives of the central administration were issued in the Russian language and therefore did not reach the Chechen-Ingush masses. Being unable fully to understand the orders received, the local Soviet organs either could not carry them out, or falsified the decisions of the party and of the administration.[8]

GROZNY – THE OIL CITY

Ca 178 It was the tremendous dead weight of the predominantly Russian capital of Chechenia that prevented the implementation of any genuine Chechen autonomy and finally spelled the doom of the Chechen people. The actual liquidation of the Chechens would probably not have occurred had not the largest town in their homeland become an oil city, and indeed, one of the most important oil centres of the U.S.S.R.

Ca 315 S.U 345 This oil city had developed out of the little fortress of Grozny. Although Grozny oilfields had been discovered as early as 1833, they were hardly exploited at all in the nineteenth century. In 1912, however, they already supplied 11·5 per cent of the entire Russian oil. Between 1913 and 1917 this figure had risen to 16·7 per cent, and in the following four years to nearly 25 per cent. By 1937 the proportion of Grozny oil to total Russian oil production had fallen to 9·25 per cent, but in terms of absolute figures this output represented an increase of 234 per cent, compared to that before the First World War. The development of Ca 361 162 Grozny as an oil centre made for an increase of the population on an 'American scale'. In 1890 the place had no more than 6,000 inhabitants, against 34,067 in 1913, 97,095 in 1926 and 172,468 in 1939. It need hardly be added that the Chechens and Ingush, peoples consisting of shepherds and peasants, could not contribute anything worth mentioning to the rise of the town which was styled, almost ironically, 'Capital of the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.'. Among the oilworkers of Grozny there were probably at no time more than one-tenth of 'natives', and until 1936 there were but 9·7 per cent.

Ca 177 S.U. 583 Unlike so many cities in the Soviet Union, Grozny never changed its name under the Soviet régime, despite the imperialistic history connected with it. As a matter of fact, it was the Soviet oil city of Grozny which spelled the doom of the Chechens and not the little fortress which

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 186-188, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz – Analyst]
2 [Cf. category 116, p. 186, R1 188 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz – Analyst]

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Kabardin] Caucasia RH 1

S.U. 563 634 687 achieved a dual purpose. In addition to punishing the Balkars it served as a warning for the Kabardinians, who from then on hastened to express their loyalty towards Soviet Russia in a very demonstrative, even effusive, way.

Ca. 177.81 814 S.U. 563 814 After the war the Soviet authorities found it advisable to provide for the Kabardinians, as a means of strengthening their allegiance to the Soviet State, a clear conception of history which would unequivocally show that the Russians had always been the protectors of the Kabardinian people. The task of formulating the details of this conception was assigned to the 'Kabardinian Research Institute', whose headquarters are in Nalchik, the capital of the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. The new conception implied the 'official recognition' of Temryuk Idarovich as the national hero of Kabarda. Kabardinian children are expected to look up to Temryuk with the same awe as Russian boys and girls to Peter the Great or Suvorov. According to the new official thesis Temryuk, a Kabardinian prince who lived around 1550, 'endeavoured to build up a strong centralized State able to resist Turkish and Crimean Tartar oppressors'. Temryuk had realized that the Kabardinians were incapable of withstanding their enemies if they were to rely on their own forces only; establishment of close contacts with Muscovy was therefore the only wise Kabardinian policy.[15]

It is the same story which is told with some variation to all the peoples of the Soviet Union in all their many languages. There is always a grain of truth in the story, but never the entire truth, since history is not so simple and so clear-cut that it would fit the purposes of a one-sided propaganda. It is a historical fact that Temryuk asked Ivan the Terrible for protection and even gave him his daughter for wife. Originally, in the days of greater internationalism, Soviet historians failed to stress this fact, and laid more emphasis on the slave trade in which the Kabardinian feudal lords had engaged with the Crimean Tartar Khanate. However, since events had proved the necessity of increasing the attachment and loyalty of the Kabardinians to the Russians and the Soviet State, Temryuk had to be brought to the forefront of Kabardinian history.

Ca. 17753 538 Ca. 871 191 Kabardinian post-war literature also pursued the aim of re-educating the Kabardinian people. The central theme of the first Kabardinian literary almanac consisted in showing that it was 'the friendship with the Russian people that led the Kabardinians towards a better life.'[16]

While a great deal was done for 're-education' in the sense required by the Russians, education as such had been neglected during the first post-war years, at least as far as the Kabardinian language was concerned. The so-called 'national' schools in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. were Kabardinian in the first four forms only; from the fifth form onwards teaching was in the Russian language exclusively. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party issued in 1948 a state-

ment on 'serious shortcomings and mistakes' committed in Kabarda in 871
the field of national policy. It stressed that conditions in Kabardinian /91
education were in conflict with the constitution of the A.S.S.R., which stipulated the right of the Kabardinian people to schools in their own language.

Although the Kabardinians are by far more numerous and advanced 875
than the peoples of the Soviet Far North, they suffer from the same acute shortage of national teaching-personnel which has been fatal to the national culture of many a minor Soviet nationality. Thus in 1948, the Kabardinian teachers' training college at Nalchik had but fifty-six Kabardinians out of a total of 559 students.[17]

It is to be expected that the survival of a truly Kabardinian culture 167
and Kabardinian language will become even more remote with the 162
increasing pressure of Slav colonization. Between 1926 and 1935 alone the number of Russians and Ukrainians in the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. more than doubled; it increased from about 37,000 to 93,000. This increase was partly due to immigration, partly to the inclusion in Kabarda of a number of Cossack villages in 1932. After the war the numerical relation between 'natives' and colonists changed to the detriment of the former, owing to the forcible departure of the Balkars.[1] Moreover more Russian colonists came into the country to staff new factories springing up around Nalchik.

[1] [Cf. category 631, p. 193 - -Analyst]

THE CIRCASSIANS – A RESERVE OF SOVIET MIDDLE EAST POLICY

For the benefit of the remnants of the Circassian people,[2] the Soviet 631
Government set up two Autonomous Provinces in the western part of 162
the North Caucasus area; the Cherkess Province in the Caucasus foothills and the Adyge Province in the Kuban plain.

Surrounded as they are on all sides by Russian territories these two national units have little chance of long-term survival. This applies in particular to the Adyge Province, whose capital – Maikop – used to be [361]
the third largest Russian oil centre after Baku and Grozny, before the development of the 'second Baku' between the Volga and the Urals.

Originally, Maikop was not included in the Adyge Province, which had a small Adyge majority in its initial stage (55·7 per cent various branches of Adyge, 42·7 per cent Russians and Ukrainians, and the rest made up of other Europeans and Armenians). The size of the Province was increased, however, before the war and the Adyge thus found themselves in the position of a minority. In 1930 the Adyge Province [441]
won doubtful 'fame' owing to its extraordinarily high percentage of disfranchized people. This was due to the arbitrary action of the local Soviet authorities, who had indiscriminately interpreted the terms of 'kulak', 'capitalist' and 'reactionary' with the result that 12 per cent of the entire adult population of the Province were deprived of their civic rights. — [2] [Cf. 631.116, p. 182 ff Sov. Union-Analyst]